

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 043701
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY AF/S:FGWISNER:TK
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY
AF:WESCHAUFLE, JR.
S/S-O: RPERITO
P - MR HABIB

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O R 272255Z FEB 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T STATE 043701

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, RH

SUBJECT: RELAUNCHING THE RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS

1. DURING THE COURSE OF OUR CONSULTATIONS WITH SIR ANTONY DUFF AND HIS TEAM FROM THE FOREIGN AND COMMONWEALTH OFFICE, WE AND THEY DISCUSSED A STRATEGY FOR RELAUNCHING THE RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS. WE AGREED TO SUMMARIZE THE CONCLUSIONS OF OUR MEETINGS AND THE MESSAGES WHICH WE AND THE BRITISH WOULD SEND TO AFRICAN AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES. YOU SHOULD REVIEW THE SCENARIO WITH FCO AND LET US KNOW AS SOON AS THEY HAVE APPROVED THE COURSE OF ACTION

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WE AND THEY DISCUSSED IN WASHINGTON.

2. GREAT BRITAIN--WITH THE BACKING OF THE UNITED STATES-- WILL UNDERTAKE A NEW INITIATIVE TO RELAUNCH THE RHODESIAN NEGOTIATIONS AND RECONVENE A CONFERENCE AMONG RHODESIAN PARTIES IN GENEVA. BOTH GOVERNMENTS INTEND TO RAISE THE SUBJECT WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND THROUGH THEM WITH

SMITH (SEE SEPTTEL). WE AGREED THAT BRITAIN SHOULD CONTACT THE NATIONALISTS DIRECTLY OR VIA LETTER AND THAT WE AND THE BRITISH WOULD CONDUCT JOINT DEMARCHES IN THE FRONT LINE CAPITALS THROUGH OUR RESPECTIVE AMBASSADORS. IN ADDITION, WE WOULD COORDINATE WITH BRITISH AMBASSADORS IN THE IVORY COAST, SENEGAL, ZAIRE, KENYA AND LIBERIA AN APPROACH TO

THOSE GOVERNMENTS WHICH WOULD EXPLAIN THE COURSE OF ACTION WE ARE PURSUING. THE BRITISH WILL BRIEF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND THE "OLD COMMONWEALTH." WE WILL UNDERTAKE TO INFORM POTENTIAL DONORS TO THE ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND OF THE INITIATIVE.

3. WITH RESPECT TO THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS, THE BRITISH WILL ASK THEM TO CONSIDER A SERIES OF GENERAL PROPOSITIONS UPON WHICH A NEW GENEVA CONFERENCE COULD BE ORGANIZED. THE NATIONALISTS WILL BE ASKED TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSITIONS CAREFULLY AND RECOMMEND CHANGES WHERE THEY BELIEVE REVISIONS ARE APPROPRIATE. IF THE NATIONALISTS AGREE TO THE PROPOSITIONS, WE AND THE BRITISH THEN EXPECT TO TAKE UP THE PROPOSITIONS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS AND IAN SMITH WITH A VIEW TO OBTAINING SMITH'S AGREEMENT TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS NEW BASIS.

4. THE ELEVEN PROPOSITIONS ARE:

--(1) THERE WILL BE A TRANSITION PERIOD OF LIMITED DURATION FROM MINORITY TO MAJORITY RULE.

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--(2) THE PROCESS TO MAJORITY RULE MUST BE IRREVERSIBLE, PEACEFUL AND ORDERLY.

--(3) THERE WILL BE AN IMMEDIATE TRANSFER OF POWER FROM THE RHODESIAN FRONT TO THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT. THAT GOVERNMENT WILL HAVE A NATIONALIST MAJORITY IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS BUT THE EUROPEAN MINORITY WILL HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL VOICE IN GOVERNMENT DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

--(4) A BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WILL BE APPOINTED WITH SUFFICIENT RESERVED POWERS TO ENABLE HIM, DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, TO PLAY AN EFFECTIVE BALANCING ROLE.

--(5) THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT MUST BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MAIN STRANDS OF RHODESIAN OPINION.

--(6) THERE MUST BE GUARANTEE THAT UPON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THE WAR WILL CEASE. SANCTIONS

WOULD ALSO BE LIFTED.

--(7) BEFORE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT, THERE SHALL BE AN AGREEMENT REGARDING THE SECURITY FORCES.

--(8) THE TASKS OF THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT WILL BE TO

ADMINISTER THE COUNTRY, DRAW UP THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND ARRANGE FOR THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS.

--(9) FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS MUST BE HELD IN RHODESIA BEFORE LEGAL INDEPENDENCE WILL BE GRANTED BY GREAT BRITAIN.

--(10) THE INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION WILL BE BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF A NON-RACIAL SOCIETY. THERE WILL BE A SECRET

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JUSTIFIABLE BILL OF RIGHTS TO GUARANTEE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS. THERE WILL ALSO BE PROVISIONS FOR THE PROTECTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS OF ALL RESIDENTS OF THE COUNTRY.

--(11) THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND THE INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT WILL BE OFFERED THE COOPERATION OF AN INTERNATIONALLY-SPONSORED ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND, THE AIMS OF WHICH WILL BE TO ASSIST THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

5. FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND NIGERIANS: PRIOR TO DISCUSSING THE GENERAL PROPOSITIONS WITH THE NATIONALISTS, BRITISH AND AMERICAN AMBASSADORS WILL CONDUCT JOINT DEMARCHES IN THE FRONT LINE CAPITALS OF TANZANIA, MOZAMBIQUE, ZAMBIA, BOTSWANA AND WITH THE NIGERIANS. EACH GOVERNMENT WILL BE ASKED TO PUT ITS WEIGHT BEHIND A RECONVENED CONFERENCE BASED ON THE GENERAL PROPOSITIONS. THE GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE REQUESTED TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE NATIONALISTS TO INSURE THEY REACT TO THE PROPOSITIONS QUICKLY AND IN A SPIRIT OF COMPROMISE SO THAT A PROCESS LEADING TO A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CAN BE RESUMED. IN PRESENTING OUR RESPECTIVE CASES TO THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS, WE WOULD SAY THAT:

--WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS AN INDICATION THAT SMITH MIGHT BE WILLING TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS WHICH WOULD LEAD TO A SETTLEMENT AND THEREBY TO MAJORITY RULE AND INDEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE.

--WE ARE SEEKING, THROUGH THE SOUTH AFRICANS, TO PIN

SMITH DOWN MORE SPECIFICALLY TO A NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

--THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE TOLD US THAT SMITH IS INTERESTED
IN NEGOTIATING WITH A SINGLE NATIONALIST ENTITY WHICH
COULD BE CHOSEN BY AN INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED

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REFERENDUM OF ALL RHODESIANS OR BY SOME OTHER--AS YET
UNSPECIFIED--METHOD OF SELECTION.

THE SOUTH AFRICANS BELIEVE THAT THE DESIGNATION BY
REFERENDUM OF A SINGLE NATIONALIST INTERLOCUTOR WOULD
COMMIT SMITH TO BEGIN THE PROCESS OF SURRENDERING POWER
AND LESSEN THE POSSIBILITY OF INTERNAL STRIFE AFTER
INDEPENDENCE.

--WE HAVE REMINDED THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT BRITAIN AND
THE UNITED STATES OPPOSE SMITH'S INTERNAL SOLUTION. WE
HAVE EXPRESSED OUR VIEW THAT A SETTLEMENT CAN ONLY BE
REACHED BY INCLUDING ALL PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS. WE
HAVE ALSO SAID WE DO NOT SEE HOW A REFERENDUM OR ANY OTHER
PROCESS OF IMPARTIAL SELECTION CAN BE CONDUCTED WHILE
RHODESIA IS CONTROLLED BY THE SALISBURY AUTHORITIES.

--NEVERTHELESS, IT IS INTERESTING THAT SMITH MAY BE
WILLING TO CONSIDER THE HOLDING OF A REFERENDUM UNDER
ACCEPTABLE INTERNATIONAL SUPERVISION AS A FIRST STEP IN
TRANSFERRING POWER. WE HAVE ALSO NOTED IN RECENT PUBLIC
STATEMENTS AND PARTICULARLY IN TELEVISION INTERVIEWS
CARRIED IN THE UNITED STATES THAT SMITH HAS DROPPED
REFERENCES TO THE FIVE POINTS AND HIS "CONTRACT" WITH THE
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--WE WOULD APPRECIATE THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS
ASSESSMENTS OF WHAT SMITH MIGHT BE OFFERING AND ANY VIEWS
ON HOW THIS POTENTIAL OPENING SHOULD BE EXPLOITED.

--WE URGE THAT THE NATIONALIST PARTIES CONSIDER THE
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--IF THE NATIONALISTS ACCEPT THE GENERAL PROPOSITIONS OR

REASONABLE MODIFICATIONS OF THEM, WE WILL TAKE THEM TO SMITH AND PRESS HIS ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSITIONS AS A BASIS FOR RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS.

--WE BELIEVE THAT THESE PROPOSITIONS, BACKED BY ADEQUATE ASSURANCES THAT SMITH WILL NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY SHOULD PERMIT THE SEVERAL PARTIES TO THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM TO RESERVE THEIR DETAILED NEGOTIATING POSITIONS AND RETURN TO GENEVA TO REACH A SETTLEMENT. BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES WOULD USE THEIR INFLUENCE TO ENSURE THAT SMITH NEGOTIATES SERIOUSLY ONCE HE HAS RETURNED TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE.

6. OTHER AFRICANS: OUR INTENTION TO RELAUNCH THE

FRONT LINE STATES AND NIGERIA, AND PIN SMITH DOWN TO A NEW FRAMEWORK WILL BE COMMUNICATED TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF SENEGAL, IVORY COAST, ZAIRE, LIBERIA, AND KENYA. BRITISH AND AMERICAN AMBASSADORS, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH EACH OTHER, WILL CONDUCT PARALLEL DEMARCHES TO EACH GOVERNMENT. WE WOULD DESCRIBE THE PROPOSITIONS IN GENERAL TERMS, NOTING THEY ARE A DISTILLATION OF EARLIER PROPOSALS, INCLUDING THE PROPOSALS WHICH IVOR RICHARD TOOK TO AFRICA. WE WOULD SAY THAT IT IS OUR INTENTION TO MAINTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS, AND NARROW DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE POSITIONS WHICH THE NATIONALISTS HAVE PRESENTED, WHILE PURSUING WITH THE SOUTH AFRICANS WAYS TO RETURN SMITH TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. WE WOULD ASK THE GOVERNMENTS TO USE THEIR INFLUENCE WITH THE PARTIES TO ENSURE THEY CONSIDER THE PROPOSITIONS SERIOUSLY AND WITH FLEXIBILITY.

7. EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND "OLD" COMMONWEALTH AND ZIMBABWE DEVELOPMENT FUND CONTRIBUTORS: THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WILL INFORM THE EC-9 AND "OLD" COMMONWEALTH
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S E C R E T STATE 043701

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FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 043701 ACTION LONDON INFO
LUSAKA DAR ES SALAAM GABORONE MAPUTO LAGOS DTD 27 FEB

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Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 27-Feb-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Secure: OPEN
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TAGS: PFOR, PDEV, PGOV, RH, US, UK, SF
To: LONDON LUSAKA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
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